/269/

Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city, the second today is made up of three groups of native villages: those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments. Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks, presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught. In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most part by several families. The total population, impossible to evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed [178] the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent. 224

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly [322] hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning [462] hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds [756]. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites [231] for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 262 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled [263]. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served [574] to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular [342 345] house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle [184] of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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177
302

11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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231
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302
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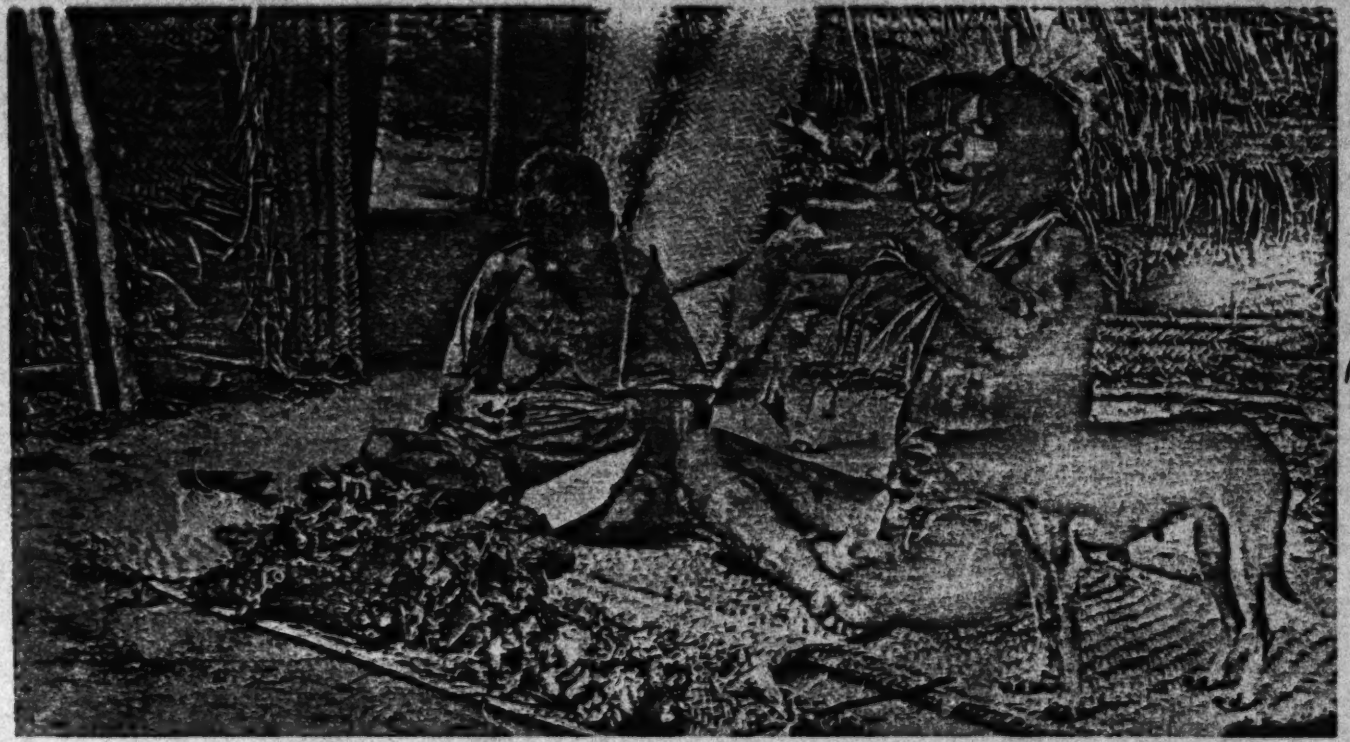
6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8



[P.40-F]

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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[774
787]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 241 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
● 231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
[114] the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the approximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/482 cont./

226 147 824 276 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/490 cont./
262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri, Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

●231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[191] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*ythabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]